



## **THE BUCERIUS SUMMER SCHOOL ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE**

The World in the 21st Century and  
the Tasks Ahead

**REUNION 2008**

Hamburg, September 4 – 7, 2008

**PROGRAM**



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## MESSAGE OF GREETING

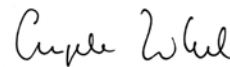
Seven years ago, when the first Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance was held, no one suspected that our world soon would change so radically. Just a few days later, the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 shook the world to its foundations. Today no single country is able to face the challenge of international terrorism, nor can it address other major issues such as free world trade, climate and resource protection, energy and food supply. Only joint answers to global questions can lead to sustainable solutions. This is why platforms for the cross-border exchange of views are more important than ever.

The Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance is just such a platform. In its way it is a unique institution. It is so important because, in this era of increasing globalization, even the most intelligent form of virtual communication cannot replace personal, face-to-face discussion. In a world growing ever closer due to similar challenges, businesses, institutions and national communities rely to a particular extent on trust and shared convictions for their decision-making abilities and willingness to take action. In the final analysis, this valuable resource can only be built up and underpinned by personal experiences and contacts.

Eight classes have already completed the Bucerius Summer School. I am sure that the participants have gained new impressions and knowledge, not merely at professional level. This is because the Summer School, and especially this year's Reunion, is a good opportunity not only to get to know each other personally, but also to create lasting international networks of trust and responsibility. Therefore the Summer School, held in Germany, also underlines our country's cosmopolitan nature.

I am very grateful to the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius and the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung for establishing this international dialogue forum. As Dean of the Summer School, Dr. Theo Sommer demonstrates great creativity and enthusiasm in implementing this exemplary project. I would like to warmly thank him and all the others who stand for the Summer School's continuing success.

I wish all Bucerius Summer School alumni and current participants a wealth of good contacts and stimulating conversation. Wherever you may come from, you are always most welcome to Germany!



Dr. Angela Merkel  
Chancellor of the  
Federal Republic of Germany

## PREFACE

In the year 2000, the idea of an annual Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance was first broached by Helmut Schmidt, Theo Sommer and Manfred Lahnstein. It was based on the strong belief that what had worked for transatlantic relations with Henry Kissinger's Summer Seminars at Harvard University in the 1960s would be equally useful and successful in the international arena of the post-Cold War era – an era of shifting global power patterns and new worldwide challenges.

It was our conviction that, in order to jointly shape the future, we would need a new generation of people with visions, and they would benefit – even in the age of unlimited cyber connectivity – from a setting which would allow them to test and share their ideas in personal encounters and continuing communication with their peers from other regions and professions. An intensive two-week program was to help build a creative network of young politicians, businessmen, journalists and representatives of both governments and non-governmental organizations from around the world.

Today, our Bucerius Summer School network comprises 450 alumnae and alumni from over 60 countries. It is an ever growing and thriving network, cherishing and fostering what is meanwhile described as the 'Bucerius Spirit'. Being able to welcome over 200 former Bucerius Summer School participants in Hamburg this year for the second Reunion is convincing proof in our eyes that the original idea has worked out. We are delighted and proud to see so many of our alumni at this second home-coming in Hamburg.

The topic of the Reunion 2008 is "The World in the 21st Century and the Tasks Ahead". Various aspects of this theme will be debated in a dozen Working Group sessions. They will cover current geopolitical issues as well as financial, environmental and societal challenges in the years to come. We extend a warm welcome both to speakers who have been with us repeatedly in the past years, and speakers we were able to lure to Hamburg for the first time.

We are greatly honored that Helmut Schmidt, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, will deliver the keynote speech at the festive assembly of the Bucerius Summer School Reunion in the venerable City Hall of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. At the same time, we deeply appreciate that Chancellor Angela Merkel has conveyed such warm greetings to our Reunion, thus recognizing the timeliness and relevance of our project.

The ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius and the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung welcome all speakers and participants. And as always, we wish them fruitful discussions, new insights, and valuable networking.

Dr. Markus Baumann  
Executive Vice President  
ZEIT-Stiftung  
Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius

Dr. Theo Sommer  
Editor-at-Large  
DIE ZEIT

Dr. Gerhard Schmidt  
Chairman of the Board of Directors  
Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung

## ARRIVAL IN HAMBURG

- 15.00 – 17.00** Arrival and Hotel Check-in  
Hotel Le Royal Méridien,  
An der Alster 52-56, Hamburg  
Park Hyatt, Bugenhagenstraße 8, Hamburg
- 18.30**  
**19.00 – 23.00** Bus Transfer to Hamburg Speicherstadt  
Buffet Dinner at Kaispeicher B  
**Theo Sommer**, Editor-at-Large,  
DIE ZEIT, Hamburg  
*Welcome*

## THE WORLD IN THE 21ST CENTURY AND THE TASKS AHEAD

BUCERIUS LAW SCHOOL – AUDITORIUM MAXIMUM

- 08.30 – 09.00** Bus Transfer to Bucerius Law School
- 09.00 – 09.30** **Theo Sommer**, Editor-at-Large,  
DIE ZEIT, Hamburg  
**Antje Uhlig**, Project Director,  
ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg  
*Introduction*
- 09.30–12.30** Working Groups I-X  
(Alumni Contributors and Co-Chairs tbd)
- I. The future Role of the United Nations:  
Peacekeeping or Promoting Social Standards  
and Global Values?*  
**John G. Ruggie**, UN Special Representative on  
Human Rights and Transnational Corporations,  
New York
- II. Wither the United States? Scenarios for  
the Post-Bush Atlantic Community*  
**Ivo H. Daalder**, Senior Fellow in Foreign  
Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution,  
Washington, D.C.  
**Nicole Gnesotto**, former Director,  
Institute for Security Studies, Paris  
**Stephen Szabo**, Executive Director,  
Transatlantic Academy, Washington, D.C.
- III. The Rise of China and India*  
**Shashi Tharoor**, former UN Under-Secretary-  
General for Communications and Public  
Information, New York
- IV. Europe after the Irish NO:  
Stagnation or Fresh Start?*  
**Guy Verhofstadt**, former Prime Minister of  
Belgium, Brussels

*V. Eastern Europe, Russia and Germany:  
Friendship, Rivalry, Hostility –  
What's in the Pipeline?*

**Janusz Reiter**, former Ambassador of  
Poland to the United States and Germany,  
Warsaw

**Dmitri V. Trenin**, Deputy Director,  
Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow

*VI. Business Imperatives and Societal Needs*

**David Held**, Co-Director, The Center for the  
Study of Global Governance, London School of  
Economics, London

*VII. How to Manage Global Risks:  
Regulating Financial Markets, Hedge Funds  
and Rating Agencies*

**Uwe Jean Heuser**, Chief-Business-Editor,  
DIE ZEIT, Hamburg

*VIII. Non-Proliferation or Spread of Nuclear  
Weapons? – Scenarios and Strategies to  
Prevent the Worst*

**Tariq Rauf**, Head of Verification and Security  
Policy Coordination,  
International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna

*IX. Climate Change for Realists*

**Harald Welzer**, Head, Center for Interdisciplinary  
Memory Research, Essen

*X. Immigration, Integration, Identity:  
The Challenge for Western Societies*

**Vural Öger**, Member of the European  
Parliament, Brussels

**12.30 – 13.00** Group Photo

**13.00 – 15.00** Lunch

**15.00 – 15.30** Bus Transfer to Town Hall

TOWN HALL – FESTIVE HALL

**16.00 – 16.10** **Christa Goetsch**, Second Mayor,  
Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg  
*Welcome*

**16.10 – 16.15** **Theo Sommer**, Editor-at-Large,  
DIE ZEIT, Hamburg  
*Introduction of Keynote Speaker*

**16.15 – 17.15** **Helmut Schmidt**, former Chancellor of the  
Federal Republic of Germany, Hamburg  
*The World Ahead: Forces shaping the 21st Century*

**17.15 – 17.45** Questions and Answers

**17.45 – 18.15** Reception

**18.15 – 18.45** Bus Transfer from Town Hall to Hotels

**19.30 – 20.00** Bus Transfer to Curio Haus

**20.00 – 23.00** Dinner at Curio Haus

Dinner Speaker: **Markus Baumanns**,  
Executive Vice President,  
ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg

**HARBOR CRUISE AND NEWSPAPER RALLY**

- 10.00 – 10.30** Bus Transfer to Beachclub Lago Bay  
**10.30 – 16.30** Boat Cruise through Hamburg Harbor and Newspaper Rally  
**16.30 – 17.00** Bus Transfer to Hotels  
**19.30 – 20.00** Bus Transfer to Restaurant EAST  
**20.00 – 23.00** Buffet Dinner at Restaurant EAST

**DEPARTURE**

- 08.00 – 11.00** Breakfast and Individual Departure



**MARKUS BAUMANN**s has been the Executive Vice President of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius in Hamburg since 2006 and is responsible for the initiatives of the Foundation in the field of Science and Education and the projects in America and Asia. He is also Chairman of the Executive Board of the Bucerius Law School. He obtained an MA in History, Political Science and

Literature in 1990 and a PhD in History from the University of Cologne. He started his career in 1990 in the Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government. In 1995 he entered the German Foreign Service and served as diplomat at the German Embassy in Bogotá, Colombia. In January 2000, he started at the ZEIT-Stiftung as Program Director for international programs, press and public relations. From 2001 to 2006, he served as CEO and Provost of the biggest project of the Foundation, the Bucerius Law School.



**IVO H. DAALDER** is Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., where he also holds the Sydney Stein Jr. Chair in International Security. In the current election campaign, he has been an informal Adviser to Senator Barack Obama on foreign policy issues. Dr. Daalder's research focuses on American foreign policy, international security, and the future of nuclear weapons.

His newest book (with I.M. Destler) *In the Shadow of the Oval Office – From John F. Kennedy to George W. Bush: The National Security Adviser* will be published in early 2009. From 1995 to 1996, Dr. Daalder served as Director for European Affairs on President Clinton's National Security Council staff. From 1998 to 2001, he was a Member of the Study Group of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century (the Hart-Rudman Commission).



**NICOLE GNESOTTO** has been Special Advisor to the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union since May 2007. Prior to that, she served as Director of the European Union Institute for Security Studies from 2002 to 2007. From 1994 to 1999, she was Professor at the Institut d'Études Politiques of Paris (Sciences Po) and Chargée de Mission to the Director of

the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI). A specialist in security issues, she was a member of the institute's research team from 1990 to 1993, after having been Deputy Head of the French Foreign Ministry's policy planning staff from 1986 to 1990. From 1999 to 2001, she was Director of the Institute for Security Studies of the Western European Union.



**CHRISTA GOETSCH** became Second Mayor and Senator for Education and Vocational Education of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg in May 2008. She is a teacher by profession and studied Chemistry and Biology. She has been a Member of the Green Party (GAL) since 1995 and was elected to the Bürgerschaft, the parliament of the city-state of Hamburg, in 1997. She is an expert

in educational policy and migration.



**DAVID HELD** has been Co-Director of the Center for the Study of Global Governance of London School of Economics (LSE) since 2003, and since 2000 is Graham Wallas Professor of Political Science at LSE. He is also Professor of Politics and Sociology at The Open University. His lectures and main research foci are on rethinking democracy at transnational and international levels,

as well as on issues of international justice and globalization. Dr. Held has strong interests both in political theory and in the more empirical dimensions of political analysis. He holds a BSc in Technology, Management Sciences from Manchester University (UK), and an MSc and PhD in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge (USA). He conducted post-doctoral research at Cambridge University, and has been Visiting Professor at Sciences Po in Paris since 2007.



**UWE JEAN HEUSER** is Chief-Business-Editor at the Hamburg-based weekly DIE ZEIT. He joined the editorial staff in 1992. Previously he served as consultant and researcher with Bayerische Vereinsbank in Paris (1990), and with McKinsey & Company (1989). He has taught Economics, Communications and Organization Theory at the University of Bonn (1984-1986), Harvard College

(1990/1991), and New York University (1995). His most recent book is *Humanomics – Die Entdeckung des Menschen in der Wirtschaft* (2008). Dr. Heuser holds a PhD in Economics from Cologne University, and an MA of Public Administration from Harvard University.





**VURAL ÖGER** has been a Member of the European Parliament for the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) since 2004. He is a Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on International Trade and the Delegation to the EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee. Mr. Öger was born in Ankara and grew up in Istanbul before coming to Germany in 1960 and gradu-

ating from Berlin Technical University in 1969. He is a successful businessman, founder of V. Öger Company, Öger Türktur GmbH and Öger Tours, of which he is Managing Director. In 2000, he was a Member of the Federal Government Immigration Commission. He is a Member of the Board of the Deutsch-Türkische Stiftung.



**TARIQ RAUF** is Head of Verification and Security Policy Coordination in the Office of External Relations and Policy Coordination of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Before joining the IAEA, he directed the International Organizations and Non-proliferation Program at the Center for Non-proliferation Studies at Monterey Institute of International Studies (1995-2002).

Previously, he was a Senior Associate at the Canadian Center for Global Security in Ottawa (1986-1995), working on nuclear arms control, NORAD and missile defence, Canadian defence and arms control policies, before becoming an Expert Advisor to the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Weapons of Mass Destruction in 1995. He was also an advisor and non-proliferation expert with Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and to Canada's House Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade.



**JANUSZ REITER** was Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Poland to the United States from 2005 to 2007, and is today writing for the Polish daily newspaper Rzeczpospolita. He has also recently been appointed Climate Ambassador of Poland, in charge of organizing the next UN Climate Conference in Posen in December 2008. In 1996 he founded the

Warsaw-based Center for International Relations and was its President until 2005. Before this, he served as Polish Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany from 1995 to 2000. He was a Founding Member of the Foreign Policy Council, Member of the National European Integration Council, and other Polish and international institutions. Mr. Reiter graduated from the Warsaw University in German Philology. From 1977 he worked for the daily *Zycie Warszawy* but was dismissed during martial law. In the years 1984 to 1989 he was a commentator of the independent weekly, *Przegląd Katolicki*. Mr. Reiter served also on several boards of DaimlerChrysler International Advisory Board and Presspublica Publishing House.



**JOHN G. RUGGIE** is UN Special Representative on Human Rights and Transnational Corporations. He is furthermore Kirkpatrick Professor of International Affairs and Weil Director, Center for Business and Government, at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. From 1997 to 2001, he was UN Assistant Secretary-General and Chief Advisor for strategic planning to Secretary-

General Kofi Annan. As Advisor, his responsibilities included the UN's Global Compact. He has been Dean of Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, where he taught for many years; he has also been on the faculty of the University of California's Berkeley and San Diego campuses, and directed the UC system-wide Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation.



**HELMUT SCHMIDT** served as Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1974 to 1982, and has been Co-publisher of DIE ZEIT since 1983. Mr. Schmidt had joined the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in 1946. From 1949 to 1953 he worked for the government of the city-state of Hamburg in the State Ministry for Economy and Transport.

From 1953 to 1961, he was Member of the Bundestag. From 1961 to 1965 he was Minister of the Interior of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, and then got re-elected in 1965 to the Bundestag. Previous to becoming Chancellor, he had also served as Minister of Defence and Minister of Finance, as well as briefly as Minister of Economics and as acting Foreign Minister. Mr. Schmidt studied Economics and Political Science and graduated in 1949. With Takeo Fukuda he founded the Inter Action Council in 1983. Helmut Schmidt is Member of the Board of Trustees of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, and Honorary Chairman of the German National Foundation, which he founded in 1993. Mr. Schmidt is author of numerous articles and books. *Außer Dienst. Eine Bilanz* will be published in September 2008.



**THEO SOMMER** is currently Editor-at-Large of the German weekly DIE ZEIT. From 1973 to 1992 he served as Editor-in-Chief and held the position of publisher from 1992 to 2000. Sommer headed the Policy Planning Staff of the German Defense Ministry from 1969 to 1970, was responsible for the Defense Ministry's *White Book* in 1970, and since then has played a prominent part in

his posts as Vice-Chairman of the Commission on Common Security and Future of the German Army (Weizsäcker Commission). He was a Member of the International Commission on the Balkans (1995-1996) and of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (1999-2000).



**STEPHEN SZABO** is Executive Director of the Transatlantic Academy, a research institution co-founded by the ZEIT-Stiftung and the German Marshall Fund in 2007. Prior to that, he was Professor of European Studies at the Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He held the Steven Muller Chair in German Studies at the Bologna

Center of Johns Hopkins University in 2004/2005, and a joint appointment as Professor at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin in 2006. He served as Interim Dean of SAIS from 2001 to 2002, and as Associate Dean for Academic Affairs from 1990 to 2007. Prior to joining SAIS, he was Professor of National Security Affairs at the National War College (1982-1990). He was a Bosch Public Policy Fellow at the American Academy in Berlin in 2002.



**SHASHI THAROOR** was UN Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information and led the Department of Public Information from 2001 until 2007. Prior to that, he served as Director of Communications and Special Projects in the Office of the Secretary-General and as Executive Assistant to the UN Secretary-General (1997-2001).

As Special Assistant to the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations (1989-1996), he assisted two successive heads of UN peacekeeping operations in managing the challenges of peacekeeping at the end of the Cold War. From 1991 to 1996, he led the team in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations responsible for UN peacekeeping activities in former Yugoslavia. In 2003, he was appointed UN Coordinator for Multilingualism. Mr. Tharoor is the author of eight books, uncounted articles, op-eds, and literary reviews. He is also a Columnist for Delhi's Times of India.



**DMITRI V. TRENIN** is Deputy Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow. From 1973 to 1993, he served the USSR/ Russian Armed Forces in various positions including: Liaison Officer, External Relations Branch, Group of Soviet Forces, Germany (1978-1983); Senior Lecturer, The Military Institute (1983-1993); Staff member, USSR Delegation to US-Soviet Nuclear & Space

Arms Talks in Geneva (1985-1991). He is a Member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Russian International Studies Association.



**GUY VERHOFSTADT** was Prime Minister of Belgium from 1999 to March 2008, presiding two governments with the Belgian socialist parties, partly including the Green parties, and an interim third government in the early months of 2008. A lawyer by profession, he joined the Flemish liberal party PVV as the political secretary and lawyer-associate of its Chairman Willy De Clercq. In 1982 he

succeeded De Clercq as the youngest party-leader of his generation. In 1985 he became Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Budget. From 1987 to 1999 he led the Flemish liberal opposition against socialist-Christian-democratic governments. Changing the Chamber for the Senate, he succeeded in turning the old PVV into a new liberal-democratic party, the Open VLD. In 1999, upon winning the federal elections, he became the first liberal Belgian Prime Minister after more than 60 years. Currently, Mr. Verhofstadt is on a sabbatical year and left the Belgian political scene after 25 years of activity. Confirming his European beliefs, written down in *The United States of Europe* (2006), he left his country for a long European journey.



**HARALD WELZER** has been Head of the Center for Interdisciplinary Memory Research at Essen since 2004 and Research Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Witten/Herdecke since 2001. He also teaches at Emory University Atlanta. He has been awarded several fellowships and visiting professorships and has conducted numerous research projects in the fields of memory

studies and violence research. He is author of many articles and books, the most recent being *Täter. Wie aus ganz normalen Menschen Massenmörder werden* (2005) and *Klimakriege. Wofür im 21. Jahrhundert getötet wird* (2008).





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 **Heinz Nixdorf  
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*The Bucerius Summer School on  
Global Governance is a project of the  
ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius  
in cooperation with the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung.*